1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

from Hsin Hsing. The reason for such diversified joint-ownership groupings may very well go back to the initial period of settlement in the area.

However, the most common type of joint ownership in Hsin Hsing is holdings of groups of cousins or brothers. Inheritance of family land is generally the reason for such ownership groupings. Usually, cousins who are joint owners are members of separate households. The land originally belonged to their fathers as joint land, or to their paternal grandfather, or perhaps to some even more distant relative.

On the other hand, the situation varies when the joint owners are brothers. If family division has already taken place, then each brother will cultivate his share of the land independently. If division has not occurred, the brothers work the whole plot as a common unit, just as they manage all of the economic affairs of such a household. Sometimes brothers may have recently inherited the joint shares from their father. In other cases, the brothers may have recently purchased the land as joint-ownership land. Some have officially listed the exact share of each brother to eliminate any problems or disputes over the land when the family divides.

The joint ownership of land became a serious disadvantage for some farmers as a result of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Owners of joint-ownership portions of land are really no different from the owners of individually owned plots. However, according to the reform act of 1953 (T'ang, 1954:186, Chapter II, Article 8), any joint-ownership land which is not tilled by the owner but is rented out instead, and is not owned by certain specified helpless people, e.g., the old, the infirm, orphans, is liable for expropriation by the government or purchase by the tenant. This singling out of joint-ownership land was done by the government in an attempt to do away with this very common but administratively complex type of ownership which is "primitive and confused" (Chang, 1954:80). While individually owned land could be retained by the noncultivating landlord in amounts up to three *chia* (if medium-grade land), the law did not provide for retention of any portion by joint owners of land.

As a result of this purely technical difference, the law has worked a hardship on many owners who owned small shares of joint-ownership land which they rented out. One such example in Hsin Hsing village was a man who owned a few small portions of joint-ownership land. Since he held an outside job, his family worked one of the small plots and rented out the other; the income contributed to their livelihood. This rented-out land, on which a share of the family's income depended, was expropriated by the government.

Corporate or community-ownership land is the third type of private-ownership land. In Hsin Hsing village, as in most villages in Taiwan,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

problem of village solidarity. It is perhaps too soon to tell how successful these new leaders will be, but it seems likely that if disorganization continues as a result of the gradual withdrawal from leadership by the landlord class, the most capable among the aspirants for village leadership may find, by necessity, increasing acceptance from their fellows.

EFFECT OF LAND REFORM ON THE LAND MARKET

In the Hsin Hsing area, another effect of the Land Reform Program appears to be a decrease in the free circulation of land, especially in land for rent. Because the 1951 Rent Reduction Act is still in effect, tenants who have contracts are remaining on the land and not giving up their right to tenancy. The landlord can no longer freely change tenants, even when the contract period ends, unless the tenant wishes to give up his rights. At the same time, as the value of rents decline, "the value of leased farm land . . . [is] lower than that of owner cultivated-land" (T'ang, 1954:63). Thus, many landlords do not want to sell their land when its value is low. But even more, under such conditions prospective buyers would gain little from buying land occupied by a tenant who has a contract and a fixed rent.

Landlords who have been tilling some land themselves will very rarely rent it to anyone now. To do so would mean that the landlord, although receiving his 37.5 percent rent, would have little control over his own land. As a former large landlord put it, "Before the Land Reform the landlord made the rules if he wanted more rent. Today the government makes the rules." If the landlord should find that for some reason he no longer can till the land himself, it is more likely that he will hire laborers to work the land. Formerly, he would probably have rented it out. Thus, there is very little land available today for anyone wishing to rent it.

There also seems to be little turnover of publicly and privately owned land which was purchased from the government by former tenants under the 1951 and 1953 acts. Only under great financial stress will such villagers give up their rights to assume full ownership at the end of the ten-year amortization period. According to the 1953 act, a farmer who is unable to continue payments on such land may ask the government to repurchase the land for resale to other farmers. "The Government shall in such a case reimburse to the purchaser in one lump sum the purchase price already paid" (T'ang, 1954:191, translation of the Land-to-the-Tiller Act, 1953, Chapter IV, Article 29). However, despite the law, when such instances have arisen in the Hsin Hsing area, the land has not been resold through the government but by the farmer directly to another farmer who has approached him for additional land to support a growing family.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

775 one spirit remains in the grave, another remains in the incense pot in the ancestral-worship room of the family home, and the third journeys to the underworld to be judged by the gods of the underworld for its past deeds in life. These gods determine the fate of the spirit, which may be eternal punishment and torture in the underworld, a punishment appropriate to the seriousness of past deeds, or rebirth in another world as anything from an insect to a member of the gentry or an even higher status. However, the spirits of people who have lived extraordinarily pure and good lives are permitted immediate entrance to the "Western Paradise," never again to undergo the uncertainty and misery of earthly life.

Death

763 Death is not always sudden and unexpected. Sometimes it becomes apparent that an old person is about to die "when his eyes no longer see or he can no longer eat rice." When this happens, the family is able to prepare for the occasion and, at the same time, eliminate the need to perform a ritual to rid the bedroom of the demon of death—necessary if someone dies in his bed. The dying person is washed and dressed in special clothes and moved from the bedroom to the family's or *tsu's kung t'ing*. Here he is placed on several wooden benches which have been covered with straw mats, and he and the family wait for death to come. Female members of the family take turns keeping watch in the room, passing the hours making fiber hats or doing other hand work.

On one occasion a very old woman was apparently dying and was thus washed and dressed in her burial clothes and moved into the ancestral-worship room. The family recalled that when she could still speak she had said she wanted to die on the anniversary of her husband's death so that the ritual of ancestor worship for herself and her husband could be carried out easily by the family on the same day. For four days the old woman lingered in a coma; finally, on the fourth day, there was "no more breath in her" and she died. I expressed amazement that the old woman had died on the very day she had predicted. The response was, "Well, of course, the old people are always right."

764 (M8) In cases of sudden death, the body is moved immediately into the ancestral-worship room, washed and dressed in burial clothes, and laid out on the mat-covered benches to await burial. Whether the deceased had been brought there to die or was placed there after his death, all chairs in the room are removed, mirrors are covered, statues of the gods taken down, and scrolls picturing the gods hung face to the wall. Straw is placed on the floor on which the mourners and visitors sit. At [656] this time the family of the deceased must register the death at the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

000 [3] For a detailed description of the operation of such clubs and how some participants profit financially from them, see Fei (1939) and Embree (1939). Although the actual details are here somewhat different, the general idea and method are similar.

Chapter 4: Changing Land Tenure and Its Effect on Community Organization

Fn [217] Tn [647] [1] Land tenure records for the Hsin Hsing area are kept in the Lukang Land Office, the local branch of the Taiwan Provincial Land Bureau in Taipei. The Lukang office maintains sets of maps and many different forms on which are recorded all land tenure operations, including those of the land reform. However, only two types of land tenure record forms are kept fully up to date for each village.

Of these two, one type is the landownership card for privately owned land holdings. Files of these cards are maintained under three separate categories: "individual," "joint," and "corporate" ownership. There is a card in the name of each primary owner. The other type, which records all land operations by the villagers, is maintained in loose-leaf notebooks, one for each village. Each village family which owns and/or rents any land has a few pages in the book. The book is apparently kept for the purpose of observing annual variations in kind and amount of land cultivated as they relate to and affect the standard of living. Towards this end, it also indicates changes in the amount of livestock and farm equipment and the make-up of family population, but these items are not usually kept up to date.

[2] The Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office also keeps records which can be of help in determining the total village land tenure situation. These records, which are used by the Public Office for assessment purposes, include listings of landlord-tenant contracts, villagers who received land under the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, and general totals of land cultivated by the people in each village.

Fn [127] [2] During the post-land reform period (1953–1957), these figures remained almost constant, so that the above figures and those used from now on will be from the 1957 records, since that year's data are the most detailed.

[3] Some landlords sold their land before the act of expropriation.

T [656] [671] [4] The 0.5 *chia* of K'ang *tsu* land was not expropriated under the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953. Article 8, category 5, of this act stipulates in section 1 that tenant-cultivated land owned by private individuals or family "clans" for purposes of ancestor worship be expropriated. However, as Wang (1964: 79) points out, sections 2 and 3 of Article 8 alter this part of the law. These sections stipulate that the landowning group, e.g., a *tsu*, may retain an amount of land sufficient to provide for the expenditures of ancestor sacrifices. The two sections also stipulate that all such land, if used for other purposes, be expropriated, noting that in the past such land and income derived from it were the source of a great deal of conflict and litigation. As a result of the ambiguity in the basic law and the added sections, implementation of it has varied from place to place according to the particular situation and idiosyncratic interpretation.

423 piece for a .009 chia piece plus a sum of cash, and was the culmination of a two-year negotiation process.

311 243 The registered plot sizes are not directly related to the size of the paddy fields. Larger plots may be divided into two or more fields and some smaller plots are combined into one field. Both the extreme fragmentation and the narrowness of the terraces contribute to the small size of paddies. Correlated with the small size is the complete absence of gasoline-powered cultivators which have become so popular on the plains. This degree of fragmentation does not permit the most efficient use of the land. The government has begun a program of land consolidation in other parts of the island (Department of Information, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1962:78-83). Although villagers are aware of the program and believe it would be a valuable step for the village, everyone fears he would not get a reasonable share in a government-ordered consolidation, i.e., he would give up pieces more valuable than he would receive. Although theoretically the process should be seen as a zero-sum game, no villager can be found who thinks he would be a winner or even break even.

311 423 659

423 427 656 Prior to the above-discussed land consolidation, Taiwan underwent an extensive land reform program which proceeded through three steps. The first step was rent reduction, enforced in April of 1949, which limited farm

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

rent to a maximum of 37.5 per cent of the total main crop yield (C. Chen, 1961). Since the usual rent in the Sanlei area averaged about fifty per cent of the main crop, this reduction immediately affected the economic situation of village tenants. It had a secondary effect of reducing the land value of tenanted land because the rental income was lowered and flexibility was lost due to the requirements for a minimum lease of six years, binding on heirs, successors, and assigns.

The second step involved the sale of public land in a series of six successive sales between 1948 and 1958 (Koo, 1968:36) with most plots sold after 1951 (Koo, 1968: 35). There was no paddy land affected by these sales in Sanlei although some villagers did acquire mountain land in the various sales. According to villagers and by notation on land records, the sale of mountain land to tenants in Sanlei had actually begun under the Japanese.

The third step was the Land-to-the-Tiller Act of 1953 which was designed to accomplish three basic objectives:

> (1) to help tenants acquire landownership without increasing financial burden; (2) to protect the interests of landlords; and (3) to convert landholdings into industrial holdings (Koo, 1968:37).

In essence, land was compulsorily purchased from certain landlords and sold on easy terms to their tenants. The

branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with particular attention to economic development. For the village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence: qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is a federal law, applicable at every level of government

562 down to the township, which specifies there must be one
• 656 woman member for every ten representatives on all delib-
666 erative bodies. This law serves to increase the status of women and results in a consequent higher percentage of female membership in legislative bodies in Taiwan than in the United States.

666 At the county level, economic contributions are
662 important in winning elections. A man does not buy votes directly, but he may offer to contribute a school room or the like if he is elected. Although this is considered by most villagers to be quite honorable, contributions of money to local influentials rather than for public works is considered to be very bad and dishonest by most village leaders. No one in Sanlei is believed to have taken a bribe to influence votes but Sanlei villagers often cite one man in Erhlei and two in T'oulei as dishonest men who have been bribed. Citation of these men may be part of the factional differences in the li to be discussed later. In any case, the suspected Erhlei man is still consulted regularly for his knowledge about affairs outside the village and he continues to influence voting behavior in the li.

665 Hsin Tien Township is broken into two major factions which compete for political power. Talei Li belongs to the "inside the mountain" faction, the smaller and weaker of the two. Although the factions are more